October 9, 1992

## MEMORANDUM TO THE LEADER

FROM: JOHN DIAMANTAKIOU

SUBJECT: POLITICAL BRIEFINGS

Below is an outline of your briefing materials for your appearances in New England and New York.

Enclosed for your perusal are:

- 1. Campaign briefing:
  - overview of race
  - biographical materials
  - Bills introduced in 102nd Congress
- 2. National Republican Senatorial Briefing
- 3. City Stop/District race overview
- 4. Governor's race brief (NH, VT)
- 5. Redistricting map/Congressional representation
- 6. NAFTA Brief
- 7. Republican National Committee Briefing
- 8. State Statistical Summary
- 9. State Committee/DFP supporter contact list
- 10. Clips (courtesy of the campaigns)
- Political Media Recommendations (Clarkson also has a copy) Thank you.

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

OCTOBER 9, 1992

SENATOR:

KANSAS

The Torkildsen campaign would like you to stress Peter's integrity, honesty and commitment to public service.

They would like you to stay away from mentioning Congressman Mavroules' corruption charges. As a state legislator, Peter was a vocal opponent to then-Governor Dukakis' tax increases and will continue to be a tax-fighter on Capitol Hill.

JOHN D.

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## MEMORANDUM

To: John Diamantakiou From: Mike Armini Date: 10/1/92 Re: Torkildsen Campaign Background

## Themes and Issues:

Peter is running as a fiscal conservative and a reformer. These are issues that he has a great deal of credibility on given his track record in the Massachusetts' House. Peter Supports a Capital Gains tax cut and restoration of the investment tax credit. He has also vowed to vote for a Balanced Budget Amendment and a Presidential line-item-veto.

To reform Congress Peter is a supporter of term-limitations, elimination of PAC contributions to U.S. House and Senate candidates, elimination of Congress' special exemptions and consolidation of congressional committees and subcommittees.

On the issue of health care reform, Peter opposes the "single payer" and "pay or play" methods of reform proposed by Democratic leaders. Instead Peter supports a system of tax incentives and vouchers to help reduce costs for those with insurance and to provide health care to those without it.

## **Recent Polling Data:**

During the week of 9/21 to 9/25 an extensive poll of the sixth congressional district was conducted. In the head to head with Congressman Mavroules the results were: Torkildsen 52%, Mavroules 36%, undecided 12%. This is significant, not only because Peter has a substantial lead, but because Peter has already (one week after the primary) crossed the 50% threshold. At this point Nick not only has to clean up his own image but he must also attempt to cut Peter down somehow.

Another point worth mentioning is Peter's support of abortion rights in a district that is polled to be over 85% prochoice while Mavroules remains staunchly pro-life.

## **District:**

The sixth district of Massachusetts consists of 36 cities and towns. These communities range from blue-collar cities like Lynn, Haverhill and Peabody to affluent suburbs such as Marblehead, Swampscott and Manchester by the Sea.

The district has a significant number of high-tech and defense-related companies. The major players include: AT&T in North Andover, General Electric in Lynn and Raytheon in Bedford. The new towns: Reading, Wilmington, Burlington and Bedford make up a good piece of the Rte. 128 technology belt. In addition, Hanscom air-force base is also located in Bedford. For these reasons Peter has publicly pledged to seek a position on the House Armed Services committee.

In 1988 the sixth district voted as follows:

BUSH 48%

DUKAKIS 50%

 This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas

 10-01-1992
 03:29PM
 FROM TORK ILDS http://dolearchives.ku.sedu
 TO
 12022243163



## INTEGRITY, COMMITMENT... CHANGE.

#### Dear Friend,

We need to break up the old boy network in Congress, and this year presents the first time in 50 years to do just that. I want to be part of that CHANGE...to begin rebuilding our economy and creating jobs. We won't have an unlimited amount of defense dollars pouring into our state. In the next Congress ideas will be more important than seniority in helping put people back to work.

I am committed to sweeping reforms to make Congress more efficient, more accountable. Those who have failed us in Congress must go, those who have taxed us into bankruptcy or would promote such programs are not welcome, and those who hope to join Congress to be political operatives or influence peddlers, need not apply.

As your Congressman I will work for an investment tax credit and a capital gains tax reduction to help create jobs. I will actively work for an amendment requiring a balanced Federal Budget. I will support a line item veto, the same power that 43. Governors have to reduce wasteful spending.

I will support term limits, so we won't have a permanent Congress spending all of its time getting itself re-elected. I will work to cut congressional perks including the number of subcommittee chairmen and staff. With your support we can make these changes happen.

## ABOUT PETER TORKILDSEN...

- In 1984 Peter Torkildsen challenged the Majority Leader of The House of Representatives from Peabody in a district with 4 times as many Democrats as Republicans. Though the "experts" said he couldn't win, Peter did win that election and served three terms as an advocate for Legislative rules reform, reducing unfair taxes and creating jobs for Massachusetts.
- In January 1991 Governor Bill Weld appointed Peter Commissioner of the Department of Labor and Industries. As the Commissioner, Peter reduced by 63% the inherited backlog of wage cases, reduced by 43% the inherited backlog of safety cases and increased by 21% the amount of federal grants received by the department. Peter resigned from this position in April in order to run for Congress.
- Peter Torkildsen grew up in Danvers, the sixth in a family of ten brothers and sisters, and is a Danvers homeowner.

#### EDUCATION

- Harvard University, M.P.A., J.F.K. School of Government
- University of Massachusetts/Amherst B.A., Political Science

#### EXPERIENCE

- Commissioner, Massachuserts Department of Labor and Industries, January 1991–April 1992
- State Representative, Massachusetts 13th Essex District, Danvers and Peabody, 1985–1990
- Visiting Nurse Association of Boston, Service Coordinator, 1982–1984

COMMUNITY

- Essex County Chamber of Commerce, Ipswich, President, 1989–1991
- Guardian Member Award, Boy Scouts of America, North Bay Council for work on behalf of scouting.
- Weld for Governor/Cellucci for Lt. Governor Committee, Massachusetts Co-Chair in the 1990 general election.

09–29–1992 12:18PM FRUM TURKILDShttp://doilearchives.ku.edu

#### P.02

## Peter G. Torkildsen

12 Spruce Street Danvers, Massachusetts 01923 508-777-4530

## EXPERIENCE:

**Commissioner**, Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, January 1991 to April 1992. Appointed by Governor William Weld to serve as chief executive and administrative officer of \$5.8 million department. Resigned position in April, 1992 to campaign full time for the U.S. Congress.

Major accomplishments include reducing the inherited backlog of wage cases by 63 percent, reducing the inherited backlog of safety cases by 43 percent, initiating improved deleading, industrial safety, and child safety regulations, and increasing federal grants received by the Department by 21 percent. Additional responsibilities included coordinating Governor Weld's initiatives on regulatory reform and privitization for the Executive Office of Labor.

State Representative, Massachusetts 13th Essex District, 1985 to 1990. Member, Taxation and Post Audit and Oversight Committees, 1987 to 1990, Government Regulations Committee 1985 to 1986.

Carried minority position for many major taxation bills. Sponsored House Post Audit studies into the abuse of "03" state consultants and the issuance of "phantom" license plates. Both studies preceded administrative or legislative changes to eliminate abuse in both areas.

Defeated Majority Leader of the House in 1984 in a 4-1 Democrat district. Re-elected with 66 percent of the vote in 1986, and without opposition in 1988. Received Legislator of the Year award from the Massachusetts Municipal Association in 1988.

Service Coordinator, Visiting Nurse Association of Boston, 1982 to 1984.

## **EDUCATION:**

Harvard University, M.P.A., J.F.K. School of Government. University of Massachusetts at Amherst, B.A., Political Science. Peter G. Torkildsen page 2.

## **POLITICAL:**

Weld for Governor/ Cellucci for Lt. Governor Committee, Massachusetts Co-Chairman in the 1990 general election. Candidate for Lt. Governor in the 1990 primary.

George Bush for President, Massachusetts Co-Chairman in the 1988 general election.

Massachusetts Republican State Committee, member 1984 to present. Member, budget committee.

Republican National Convention Delegate, 1988, New Orleans. Member Committee on Permanent Organization.

Republican State Convention Delegate, 1990, 1986, 1982. Member, Rules Committee, 1986 and 1982.

Danvers Republican Town Committee, Chairman, 1983 to 1988. Member, 1978 to present.

COMMUNITY:

Guardian Member Award, Boy Scouts of America, North Bay Council for work on behalf of scouting.

Sons of Norway, Member, Morgensolen Lodge, Beverly, Massachusetts. Norseman Memorial Committee, Vice-Chairman Committee successfully raised funds to restore statue of Leif Erikson on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston.

Essex County Chamber of Commerce, Ipswich, Massachsuetts, President, 1989 - 1991.

## MASSACHUSETTS STOP

#### **6th District**

Located in the most northeastern part of the sate, the 6th stretched all the way to the New Hampshire border. With the Northeast the hardest hit of all regions during this last recession, the 6th is no different.

Lynn, the 6th largest city in the district and my hometown, historically was a shoemanufacturing center but now is home to a substantial General Electric aircraft engine plant. Unfortunately, this plant's days are numbered due to defense cutbacks.

Peabody, Mavroules' hometown, was once the world's largest processing center and is considered conservative Democratic territory. Mavroules served as mayor of Peabody from 1968-1979.

East of Peabody is Salem, which has similar Democratic roots and is dependence on the electronics industry. Salem's image, however, is inextricably tied to Colonial New England's history; it hosted the famous witch trials of the 1690's and later a prosperous port from which Yankee traders set sail for the Orient and Europe.

Lynn, Peabody and Salem are referred to as the "big three" cities that delivered Mavroules his primary victory. He won his primary by just over 750 votes. The socalled "Reagan Democrats" delivered cities by over 12,800. Fortunately, Torkildsen will cut into some of Mavroules' base in Peabody, since he served as a state Representative from that area. Also, Torkildsen's opponent in the primary, "Sandy" Tennant, resides in Lynn and has been campaigning hard for Torkildsen.

Largely considered a "conservative Democrat" District, Dukakis squeaked out a 6,300 vote victory in 1988, compared with a 53%-45% vote statewide. Reagan carried the District both in 1980 and 1984.

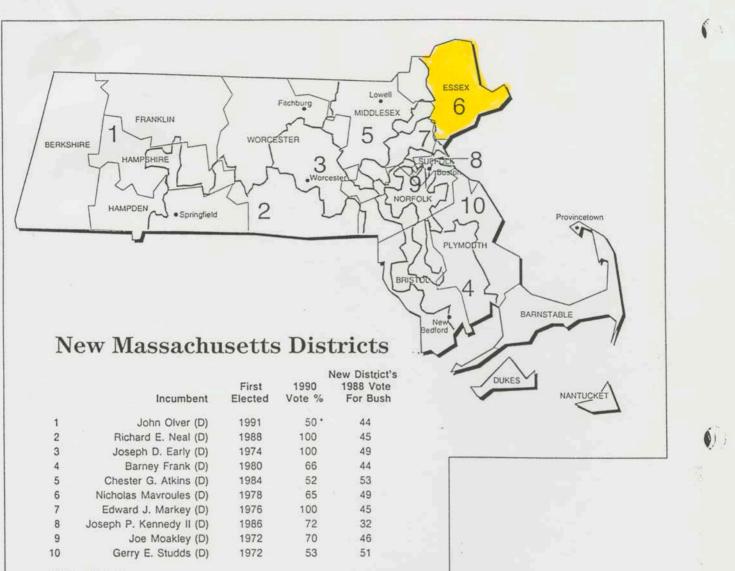
## 1992 MASSACHUSETTS REDISTRICTING CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS\*

Dis	Incumbent	Persons	Dev	New CD % Bush	Old CD % Bush	Diff % Bush	% Gov (Weld)	% GOP Reg	% Dem Reg	% Other Reg	% NHW
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Olver (D) Neal (D) Early (D) Frank (D) Atkins (D) Mavroules (D) Markey (D) Kennedy (D) Moakley (D) Studds (D)	602,018 600,888 602,190 601,581 601,702 602,508 600,854 600,854 600,817 600,658 603,209	375 -755 547 -62 59 865 -789 -826 -985 1566	44% 45% 49% 44% 53% 49% 45% 32% 46% 51%	41% 47% 42% 42% 47% 48% 45% 33% 45% 48%	3% -2% 0% 2% 6% 1% 0% -1% 1% 3%	49% 47% 48% 51% 55% 53% 51% 46% 48% 53%	14% 12% 15% 14% 15% 15% 13% 8% 12% 18%	36% 45% 39% 39% 38% 34% 47% 61% 48% 34%	50% 42% 46% 47% 51% 40% 31% 40% 40% 49%	92% 87% 93% 92% 87% 94% 92% 61% 86% 94%
	Totals / Averages	6,016,425			45%		50%	14%	42%	44%	88%

\* Partisan data are approximations and useful only as indicators

NRCC REDISTRICTING

#### POLITICS



\* 1991 special election

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# MASSACHUSETTS EXPORTS & JOBS

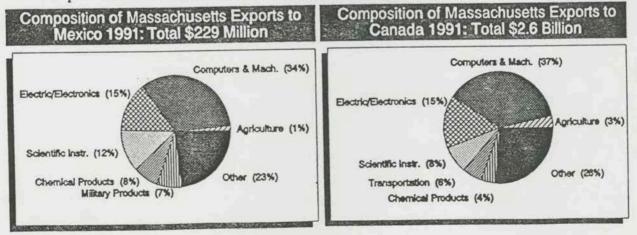


# THE NORTH AMERICAN FREE TRADE AGREEMENT



Manufactured exports accounted for 93 percent of Massachusetts's \$2.8 billion in exports to Canada and Mexico in 1991, and supported an estimated 60,000 jobs.

- Massachusetts' sales to Mexico and Canada accounted for 24 percent of the state's total exports. In 1991, Massachusetts was the ninth largest U.S. exporter to Canada.
- Since 1987, Massachusetts' exports to Mexico have grown 130 percent, while exports to Canada have more than doubled.
- Canada and Mexico are now Massachusetts' first- and fifteenth-largest export markets.
- An estimated 29,000 new jobs have been created by growth in Massachusetts' manufactured exports to our North American trade partners since 1987.



## MASSACHUSETTS

## **1992 PARTY STRUCTURE**

#### **Committee Members:**

Chairman LEON LOMBARDI

Elected: February 1991

Term Expires: February 1993

**LOMBARDI**, a partner in the Boston law firm of Warner & Stackpole, served on the 1992 RNC Arrangements Committee. He was a State Representative in Massachusetts from 1976-1982 and the 1986 GOP nominee for Lt. Governor. He was Treasurer for the Richardson for Lt. Governor campaign in 1986 and held that position last cycle for Paul Cellucci's Lt. Governor campaign.

National Committeeman RON KAUFMAN

Elected: August 1988

Term expires: April 1996

**KAUFMAN**, Deputy Assistant to the President for Political Affairs, served on the Committee on the Call. He served as Regional Political Director for New England in the 1988 Bush-Quayle campaign. He was unopposed in his re-election bid for National Committeeman

#### National Committeewoman AUGUSTA HORNBLOWER

Elected: August 1988

Term expires: April 1996

**HORNBLOWER** is currently serving her 4th term in the Massachusetts House, having been elected in 1984. During her tenure, she has fought the tax and spend approach to government and led the fight to repeal the 7 1/2% income surtax imposed by the Dukakis Administration. She specifically worked against expansion of gas and sales taxes. Augusta was a member of the Republican Redistricting Task Force, which developed the plan that would provide Republican congressional candidates an opportunity to defeat Democrat incumbents. She was unopposed in her re-election bid for National Committeewoman.

## Party Leaders:

Governor WILLIAM WELD Lt. Governor PAUL CELLUCCI State Treasurer JOE MALONE U.S. Secretary of Transportation ANDY CARD

## Bush-Quayle '92 Leadership:

Chairman	WILLIAM WELD, Governor			
National Co-Chairman	PAUL CELLUCCI, Lt. Governor			
Co-Chairman	JOE MALONE, State Treasurer			

Victory '92 Leadership:

Chairman

**PETER FORMAN**, State Representative

## State Party Overview:

The State Party is focusing its attention on State Senate races. Governor Weld's strategy, as well as that of the State Party, is to maintain the Governor's veto in the Senate and possibly take over the State Senate. Currently, Republicans hold 15 of the 40 senate seats. Six Democrats and one Republican have announced their retirement, thus providing Republicans with six open seats.

## **Financial Status:**

The State Party has cut back on staff and are having some financial difficulties.

Secretary of Transportation, Andy Card, and Jack Kemp both attended fundraisers early in the summer for the State Party. Jack Kemp's trip alone raised over \$50,000 for the Party.

Barbara Bush attended a fundraiser in Worchester on September 24, 1992.

MA

MA

## MASSACHUSETTS

## POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

<u>1992 Ballot:</u> President/Vice President U.S. Representative - 10 seats (loss of 1 seat) State Senate - all 40 seats State House - all 160 seats

1992 Electoral College: 12

1992 General Primary: September 15, 1992

1992 Presidential Primary: March 10, 1992

## **Political Environment/Overview:**

The Governor had high hopes for his education reform proposal this year; however, the Democrat-controlled legislature refused to pass it. Unemployment insurance became a heated issue with the 60-70% increases in 3rd quarter bills sent to businesses.

Governor Weld and the Senate Republicans face a tough fight in November. In the forty member Senate, Weld needs fourteen votes to uphold a veto. Of the fourteen Republicans seeking re-election, all were unchallenged in the primary. However, several face difficult elections in November.

#### **President:**

In the March 10 Presidential preference primary, President Bush did substantially better in Massachusetts than in 1988. The following is the vote breakdown.

Republicans:		
Bush		66%
Buchanan		28
Duke		2
No preference		4
Democrats:		
Tsongas		67%
Brown		15
Clinton	11	
No preference		2

MA

The following poll was conducted by Political/Media research from September 20-21 of 400 likely voters with a margin of error of  $\pm -5\%$ .

Bush 27% Clinton59 Undec. 14

Barbara Bush campaigned on the South Shore and at a hospital and senior center on September 24,1992.

The President received the endorsement of the Boston Police Association.

## **1992 Key Congressional Races:**

A fine crop of Republican candidates are waiting in the wings and setting their sights on the most vulnerable Democrats: U.S. Representatives GERRY STUDDS, BARNEY FRANK, JOHN OLVER, NICHOLAS MAVROULES and JOE EARLY. CHESTER ATKINS was defeated in the primary.

Due to a federal lawsuit questioning the method by which overseas citizens were counted in the census, Massachusetts went to the Supreme Court battling for the retention of its 11th seat.

The Supreme Court ruled against Massachusetts and the state lost one Congressional District. The Republicans have a good chance to break the Democrats lock on the state's delegation.

Several members of the delegation were involved in the check bouncing scandal on Capital Hill. Leading the delegation in this category is embattled Congressman **JOE EARLY** (D-03). Early was listed as one of the worst perpetrators of the scandal, with 140 bounced checks. **CHESTER ATKINS** (D-05) was second in the delegation with 127, followed by **ED MARKEY** (D-07) with 92, **JOE MOAKLEY** (D-09) with 90, **RICHARD NEAL** (D-02) with 87, **BRIAN DONNELLY** (D-11) with 70, and **NICHOLAS MAVROULES** (D-06) who had one bounced check.

#### CD 3

Rep. JOE EARLY was victorious in his primary over several challengers including Ex-Democratic State Representative GERALD D'AMICO and JOHN WALSH. Early will now face State Representative PETER BLUTE, who won his three way primary over State Representative DAVID LIONETT and MICHELLE FLAHERTY.

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#### **Republican Primary Results:**

Peter Blute	49%
David Lionett	37
Michele Flaherty	15

## **Democrat Primary Results:**

Congressman Joe Early	36%
Gerald D'Amico	20
John Walsh	17
Martin Healey	14
Brian O'Connell	12

State Representative Peter Blute and Congressman Early have agreed to three debates prior to the November election. However, Peter Blute is pressuring the Congressman into agreeing to hold additional debates.

#### CD 6

NICHOLAS MAVROULES (D-6) was indicted in late August on charges that he used his congressional office as a location to conduct various criminal activity. The charges included bribery, tax evasion and "influence peddling." Mavroules claims he is innocent and has called the indictments "a bunch of lies." Federal prosecutors have considered adding obstruction of justice to his 17 count indictment. It is rumored that he approached a potential witness and offered advice on how to handle any questioning by the Government. Prior to the indictments, Mavroules formed a legal defense fund in order to cover what was expected to be large legal fees.

**PAUL TSONGAS** canceled a scheduled appearance at a fundraiser on August 30 for Mavroules. Tsongas has been quoted as saying "To endorse after an indictment says to the public I have viewed the indictment and have found no substance to it."

Mavroules was victorious over primary opponent BARBARA HILDT. Democrat Primary Results:

Congressman Nick Mavroules	47%		
Barbara Hildt	46		

On the Republican side, **PETER TORKILDSEN** easily defeated **SANDY TENNANT** and will face Mavroules in the November election.

Mavroules and Torkildsen engaged in their first debate on September 22.

## **Republican Primary Results:**

Former State Representative Peter Torkildsen	56%	
Alexander Tennant	34	

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## **CD 10**

In the 10th District, Republicans DAN DALY defeated primary opponents MIKE CROSSEN, and ROBERT KING. Daly will now face Congressman Gerry Studds in the November election.

## **Republican Primary Results:**

Dan Daley	48%
Mike Crossen	40
Robert King	12

## CD 10

<b>Democrat Primary Results:</b>	
Congressman Gerry Studds	60%
State Senator Paul Harold	36
Others	3

## 10/1/92

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## **MASSACHUSETTS STATE STATISTICS**

POPULATION: Largest City: Second Largest: Third Largest:

6,016,425 Boston (574,283) Worcester (169,759) Springfield (156,983)

## GOVERNOR: William Weld (R) elected 1990 next election - 1994

SENATORS: Kennedy (Boston) and Kerry (Boston)

DEMOGRAPHICS: 90% White, 84% Urban, & 16% Rural

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME: \$21,166 (14th)

VIOLENT CRIME RATE: 675 per 100,000 (11th)

#### MASSACHUSETTS

#### MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE 114 State Street, Boston 02109 Executive Director: Alan Safran

Chairman:

National Committeeman:

National Committeewoman:

(617) 367-1992 (617) 367-7342 FAX

Leon Lombardi 114 State St., 5th Fl. Boston, MA 02109 (617) 367-1992 (GOP)

Ron Kaufman 56 Linfield Street Holbrook, MA 02343 (703) 569-1042 (h) (617) 767-3941 (h)

Augusta Hornblower Rocky's Point Groton, MA 01450 (617) 722-2487 (0) (508) 448-5358 (h)

#### 1988 DOLE FOR PRESIDENT, POLITICAL SUPPORTERS

Steve Pierce 69 Wood Road Westfield, 01085 (413) 568-0321 (h)

M. Ellen Koval-Steeves 250 Commonwealth Ave. Boston, 02166 (617) 482-3822

(additional supporters attached)

9/24/92 DOLE FOR PRESIDENT, POLITICAL SUPPORTERS

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LAST NAME	FIRST NAME	TITLE	ADDRESS 1	CITY	STATE	ZIP CODE	PHONE (0)	PHONE (H)	CODE
Constantino, Jr.	William	Honorable	State House - Room 541-B	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
DeFilippi	Walter	Honorable	State House - Room 124	Boston	MA	02133	617-722-2100	413-737-0096	*MA
Decas	Char les	Honorable	State House - Room 489	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
Diamantakiou	John	Mr.	3109 Macomb Street, N.W.	Washington	DC	20008	202-224-3135	202-362-0020	*MA
Healy	Jonathan	Honorable	State House - Room 33	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
Howarth	Robert	Honorable	State House - Room 254	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
Koval-Steves	Mary Ellen	Ms.	250 Commonwealth Avenue	Boston	MA	02166	607-482-3822		*MA
LeClair	Mary	Ms.	P.O. Box 1173	Mashpee	MA	02649			*MA
Levin	Arthur	Mr.	549 Old Sherbord Road	Greenfield	MA	01301	413-585-0403	413-774-5333	*MA
Mann	Charles	Honorable	State House - Room 489-B	Boston	MA	02133	202-401-0770	703-527-1507	*MA
McKenna	Mary Jane	Honorable	State House - Room 124	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
Murray	Mary Jeanette	Honorable	State House - Room 134	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
0'Rourke	Frank	Mr.	101 Federal Street, Suite 1900	Boston	MA	02110	617-338-0802	617-876-4754	*MA
Poirier	Kevin	Honorable	State House - Room 541-B	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
Preus	Jan	Ms.	One Ashburton Place	Boston	MA	02108			*MA
Rollins	Phil	Mr.	P.O. Box 119	Barnstable	MA	02630			*MA
Silviera	Steve	Mr.	35 Vine Street	Winchester	MA	01890	617-722-6122	617-923-3975	*MA
Skelly	Thomas	Mr.	40 Kipling Road	Boston	MA	02181			*MA
Teague, III	Edward	Honorable	State House - Room 237	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
Torkildsen	Peter	Comm.	L. Saltonstall Building-100 Cambridge St	Boston	MA	02202	617-727-3454	508-777-4530	*MA
Trimarco	Thomas	Mr.	The State House	Boston	MA	02133			*MA
Webber	Peter	Comm.	L. Saltonstall Building-100 Cambridge St	Boston	MA	02202			*MA

# Mavroules' foe assails missed vote; Hildt airs ad backing congressman

#### By John Laidler SPECIAL TO THE GLOBE

Sixth Congressional District GOP candidate Peter Torkildsen assailed Rep. Nicholas Mavroules on Friday for missing a key House vote, while the congressman released a new radio ad in which his former primary rival, Barbara Hildt, blasts Torkildsen.

Torkildsen, signaling his intention to raise abortion as an issue in the race, chided Mavroules, a Peabody Democrat, for having been absent Friday when the House narrowly failed to override a veto by President Bush of a bill that would have lifted limits on abortion counseling.

"It is very disappointing to see Congressman Mavroules absent from his job during a vote related to a very important issue," Torkildsen, of Danvers, said in a release.

Mavroules, who opposes abortion rights, voted last year in support of the "gag rule," which allows only physicians to counsel women on abortion in federally funded clinics. Torkildsen, who favors abortion rights, opposes the rule. The former state representative embraced the right to an abortion in April after previously opposing it.

Torkildsen said, "This is an issue that Congressman Mavroules is particularly vulnerable on. The people of the Sixth Congressional District were not well represented when Congressman Mavroules voted in favor of the gag rule the first time."

Mavroules, who was indicted on federal corruption charges in August, missed the vote because, at the request of his attorneys; he was attending a hearing in US District Court relating to his case, said his spokeswoman, Ellen Marlette.

"The record will confirm that the congressman has never been one to walk away from a vote. Only this most extenuating circumstance prevented him from standing and being counted and representing the many people who believe as he does," Marlette said.

Marlette said Mavroules' position on abortion and the rule "is a matter of conscience. He is not going to change for politics, unlike Peter Torkildsen, who has . . .flip-flopped twice" on the issue, Marlette said.

In the new Mavroules ad, set to begin running tomorrow on Boston radio stations, Hildt said, "Whatever our differences, Nick Mavroules and I agree that the worst thing that could happen to the Sixth District would be the election of Peter Torkildsen as congressman."

Hildt, an Amesbury representative, cited poor ratings Torkildsen received as a state legislator from groups advocating for labor, women and children.

Torkildsen said the ad showed that Mavroules "is in a desperate mode already. I ran a positive campaign all through the primary, and offered to do so in the general as well. Here he is not even strong enough to criticize me himself. He has to have a surrogate do it."

"For anyone who knows my record in the Legislature, to say I'm against women and children, that's a totally bizarre statement," he said.

BOSTON GLOBE 10/4/92

## **MASSACHUSETTS**

# Mavroules Wins, Atkins Loses; **Other Incumbents Survive**

While most of delegation seems secure. Early, Olver face November fights

riddle: How does one indicted A congressman win a hotly contested primary while the incumbent in the neighboring district falls victim to a little-known challenger?

In Massachusetts politics, the answer is "people have to love you," says political scientist Marc Landy.

One terrific lesson to be learned from the [Sept. 15] primaries is you have to have a base," says Landy, a senior fellow at the Gordon Public Policy Center at Brandeis University. "It's not enough to be crafty and clever and skillful."

That, says Landy, is why indicted but well-liked Democrat Nicholas Mavroules won renomination and his Democratic colleague Chester G. Atkins not as popular in his district - was trounced in primary voting.

Sept. 15 looked like it could be a dark day for Massachusetts' all-Democratic House delegation, particularly for three veteran members. Mavroules went into the primary facing 17 criminal charges in federal court. Rep. Gerry E. Studds had lost a sizable chunk of his electoral base in redistricting. And Rep. Joseph D. Early had been named one of the 19 "abusers" of the House bank. At least one was expected to fall. (Background, Weekly Report, p. 2647)

Instead, it was Atkins who was resoundingly defeated in the 5th District. Voters in the 5th have a choice in November between mild-mannered political veterans: Democrat Martin T. Meehan, a former prosecutor, and Republican Paul W. Cronin, who served one term in the House (1973-75).

The other nine incumbents proceed to the general election, where Mavroules and Early are likely to face robust challenges again and freshman Rep. John W. Olver will have to battle. Republican operatives view the incumbents as damaged goods ripe for defeat.

By surviving his primary against state Sen. Paul Harold, Studds is thought to have cleared his toughest obstacle to re-election. In November

By Ceci Connolly



Meehan

he faces a Republican challenger and an independent candidate who could split the anti-Studds vote.

In the 2nd District, two-term Rep. Richard E. Neal drew just 48 percent in his primary against two lesser-known Democrats. Despite that unimpressive showing, he is considered safe in November. Reps. Barney Frank, Joseph P. Kennedy II, Edward J. Markey and Joe Moakley also appear secure.

Nearly every Republican nominee supports abortion rights. In the 3rd, GOP state Rep. Peter Blute and Early both oppose abortion.

#### **Voters Reject Atkins**

After 22 years in politics, including 13 as the head of the state Democratic Party, Atkins ran this year on promises to reform Congress and eliminate the federal deficit. He called his vote for the 1989 congressional pay raise a mistake and apologized for writing 127 overdrafts at the House bank.

But every time Atkins apologized, explained or proposed, Meehan scoffed, saying Atkins was undergoing an election-year conversion. In the post-Labor Day stretch, Meehan spent about \$200,000 on ads hammering Atkins on the overdrafts, pay raise and his lengthy government tenure.

Less than a week before the primary, Atkins went negative - on himself. "It's not that I like the guy; it's just that we need him," said one voice in an Atkins ad.

Meehan, who has worked for several prominent Massachusetts politicians, also enjoyed geographical advantages. In redistricting, Atkins lost his suburban base of Framingham but kept two industrial cities he could have done without: Lawrence and Lowell. (Atkins, who lives in affluent Concord, closed his Lawrence office in 1987.) Meehan, who lives in Lowell, beat Atkins by more than 11,000 votes in the two cities.

On the Republican side, Cronin touts his 17 years running a fiberglass business as evidence he can relate to the financial worries of constituents.

"For his entire professional life, Marty Meehan has been on one government payroll or another," Cronin told The Boston Globe on primary night. "He doesn't have the know-how to attract business to Massachusetts."

Defeated in 1974 by Democrat Paul S. Tsongas after serving just one House term, Cronin casts himself as a citizenlegislator seeking a return to public service. But while embracing this year's popular "outsider" theme, Cronin also says he can "hit the ground running when I get to Washington."

Although he lost Lowell, the largest city in the district, Cronin built sizable margins in his hometown of Andover and in suburbs such as Concord, Methuen and Sudbury.

Cronin says he represented about 80 percent of the area within the 5th when he last served in Congress. In 1988, George Bush took 54 percent of the presidential vote in the new 5th, whi'e Republican William F. Weld won 57 percent of its gubernatorial vote in 1990. To win, Cronin must bring in large numbers of unaffiliated voters to offset Meehan's expected strength in the two overwhelmingly Democratic cities.

#### 'Stick with Nick' Works

In the tumultuous weeks leading up to the primary, Mavroules' pitch was simple and direct: I bring federal contracts to the district.

The "Stick with Nick" theme succeeded in a district where many voters have been backing Mavroules ever since he got started in Peabody city politics in the mid-1950s.

Mavroules defeated state Rep. Barbara Hildt in Peabody by almost 5,000 votes, and he also drubbed the liberal Amesbury legislator in Lynn and Salem.

But Hildt ran very strongly in smaller, wealthier suburbs and finished districtwide fewer than 700 votes behind.

That showing does not bode well for Mavroules' November prospects. Two years ago, Weld comfortably won the areas within the 6th, and although Democrat Michael S. Dukakis won the area in



1988 presidential voting, Bush carried 23 of the 36 communities in the 6th.

The GOP nominee, former state Rep. Peter Torkildsen, likely will try to convince voters that he is a wholesome and upright alternative to Mavroules, who faces a 17-count criminal indictment on charges of racketeering, bribery and tax evasion. Mavroules' trial is expected to begin in early 1993. (Background, Weekly Report, p. 2653)

Both Early and Studds clinched their Democratic nominations by relying on loyal voters from their former districts. But to win re-election, both incumbents must look to newcomers added in redistricting.

Voters on Cape Cod, for instance, helped Studds to his strong victory. To defeat Republican Daniel W. Daly and independent Jon Bryan in November, Studds needs more votes in the Democratic-leaning cities of Quincy and Brockton, which are new to the 10th.

Early faces a more daunting task. The reconfigured 3rd includes about 250,000 voters in 17 communities new to him. And many of the newly added residents know little of Early except that he qualified for the "abusers" list at the House bank and screamed on the House floor that investigators "ran like rats" when he tried to tell them his explanation of the overdrafts.

In the primary, some 23,700 voted for Early, but more than 41,000 voted for a different Democrat. Republican Blute, a veteran state legislator, plans a campaign calling for change, saying Early represents the status quo in Washington. Nearly complete, unofficial returns:

HOUSE							
District	Location	Candidate	Residence	Age	Occupation	Vote	%
1	West - Berkshire Hills;	* John W. Olver (D)	Amherst	56	Incumbent	Unopp	osec
·	Fitchburg; Amherst	* Patrick Larkin (R)	Pittsfield	35	Former congressional aide	Unopp	osec
2	West Central — Northampton; Springfield; Sturbridge	<ul> <li>Richard E. Neal (D)</li> <li>Kateri Walsh (D)</li> <li>Charles Platten (D)</li> </ul>	Springfield Springfield Springfield	43 47 44	Incumbent City council member Systems design manager	30,339 21,819 11,499	34.
		* Anthony W. Ravosa Jr. (R)	Springfield	27	City council member	Unopp	oose
3	Central and Southeast — Worcester; Coastal towns	* Joseph D. Early (D) Gerard D'Amico (D) John Walsh (D) Martin F. Healey (D) Brian A. O'Connell (D)	Worcester Worcester Shrewsbury Southborough Worcester	59 45 49 37 - 43	Incumbent Former state senator Medical researcher Former assistant U.S. attorney Lawyer	23,727 12,933 11,472 9,343 7,725	19 17 14 11
		* Peter Blute (R) David Lionett (R) Michelle Flaherty (R)	Shrewsbury Worcester Hopkinton	36 48 42	State representative State representative Municipal zoning consultant	11,714 8,663 3,476	36
4	Boston suburbs - Newton;	* Barney Frank (D)	Newton	52	Incumbent	Unopp	pose
	New Bedford; part of Fall River	* Edward J. McCormick (R)	Norfolk	39	Lawyer	Unopp	pose
5	North Central — Lawrence; Lowell	* Martin T. Meehan (D) Chester G. Atkins (D)	Lowell Concord	35 44	Lawyer Incumbent	50,078 26,724	
		* Paul W. Cronin (R) Michael G. Conway (R)	Andover Lowell	54 35	Former U.S. representative Insurance broker	11,456 10,214	
6	North Shore — Lynn; Peabody	* Nicholas Mavroules (D) Barbara Hildt (D) Eric Elbot (D)	Peabody Amesbury Beverly	62 46 46	Incumbent State representative University administrator	45,485 44,829 6,795	46
		* Peter Torkildsen (R) Alexander T. Tennant (R)	Peabody Peabody	34 41	Former state representative Former party official	16,548 13,022	
7	Northwest Boston suburbs -	* Edward J. Markey (D)	Malden	46	Incumbent	Unopp	pos
	Woburn; Framingham; Revere	* Stephen A. Sohn (R) Frank Vallarelli (R)	Cambridge Stoneham	48 36	Surgeon Property manager	8,705 7,468	
8	Parts of Boston and suburbs — Cambridge; Somerville	<ul> <li>Joseph P. Kennedy II (D) Charles Calvin Yancey (D) No Republican candidate</li> </ul>	Boston Boston	39 43	Incumbent City council member	45,540 11,089	
9	Part of Boston and southern	* Joe Moakley (D)	Boston	65	Incumbent	Unop	pos
	suburbs — Taunton; Braintree, part of Brockton	* Martin D. Conboy (R) Patrick J. Walsh (R)	Easton Boston	37 34	Insurance agent Teacher	6,548 5,859	
10	South Shore — Cape Cod; islands	* Gerry E. Studds (D) Paul Harold (D) William G. Zissulis (D)	Cohasset Quincy Barnstable	55 44 45	Incumbent State senator Truck driver	57,585 33,829 3,196	3
		* Daniel W. Daly (R) Michael K. Crossen (R) Robert E. King (R)	Hingham Hyannis Plymouth	49 35 26	Employment agency owner Lawyer Salesman	11,702 9,759 2,990	3

\* Nominee

#### MASSACHUSETTS

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# **Redistricting, Voter Distrust Threaten the Incumbents**

With none of the delegation running unopposed, campaign rhetoric rises to a nasty pitch

B lood-red coat hangers in abortion-issue ads. Illegitimate children. Rubber checks. "Mudslinging moles." Federal indictments.

The campaign fodder has been coarser than usual in the Massachusetts congressional races this year. And the fast-paced season leading up to the Sept. 15 primary has been studded with stunning developments.

The latest was the indictment of 14-year veteran Rep. Nicholas Mavroules on 17 counts of conspiracy, racketeering and accepting bribes. (Story, p. 2653)

Most of the waves, however, have been made by redistricting. Massachusetts lost one of its 11 House seats to reapportionment after the 1990 census, as the state's population had grown more slowly than the national average.

One of the state's 11 Democratic incumbents had to go, but Rep. Brian Donnelly already had volunteered by announcing his retirement in March.

After a protracted court challenge to the reapportionment failed, a bitter political and legal war ensued over the new districts. When it was over, all 10 remaining incumbents found themselves facing new voters.

While Democrats control the state legislature, they lost control of the redistricting process in 1990, when Republican William F. Weld won the governorship.

Perhaps hardest hit was Rep. Gerry E. Studds, who lost his base in New Bedford. The openly gay, liberal incumbent had long since won over the craggy New Bedford fishermen by speaking their native Portuguese and paying close attention to coastal matters.

Contorted districts and anti-incumbent fever aside, Bay State incumbents are largely unaccustomed to facing challengers at all. This year, they have them coming from the left,

By Ceci Connolly



#### Massachusetts

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6th District	p. 2650
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10th District	p. 2652

right and middle. Unlike previous years, not a single incumbent is unopposed.

Some observers compare the 1992 Massachusetts political scene to an ocean of sharks, circling through bloody waters in search of their wounded prey.

Reps. Joseph D. Early and Chester G. Atkins are prime examples. The two had 140 and 127 overdrafts at the House bank, respectively. As a result, three challengers are running in the new 5th against Atkins, and eight are vying for Early's seat in the 3rd.

Some of the challengers have used unorthodox — and sometimes unsavory — tactics.

Lowell Republican businessman Michael Conway distributes white rubber checks to mock Atkins. One of his campaign posters depicts three Russian soldiers holding the checks with the phrase "Chet? Nyet!" emblazoned over their heads.

Early's face, meanwhile, has been portrayed in television commercials with a red coat hanger superimposed over it. Democratic challenger Gerard D'Amico said the \$30,000 spots were an effective way to remind voters of Early's opposition to abortion rights.

#### **Electability at Issue**

For many incumbents, the gravest threat comes from within their own party.

"I'm offering to keep the district in the Democratic column," said Democratic state Sen. Paul Harold of Quincy, who is challenging Studds in the primary. Harold is campaigning on the notion that Studds cannot win the dramatically reconfigured 10th and that Democrats would be wasting their vote on the incumbent on Sept. 15.

It is a common pitch among Democratic challengers.

Amesbury state Rep. Barbara Hildt says polls show Mavroules cannot defeat either of the potential Republican nominees in his North Shore district.

In any other year, most of these challengers would be little more than a distraction for the state's entrenched incumbents. But this year the primaries are costing precious time and money.

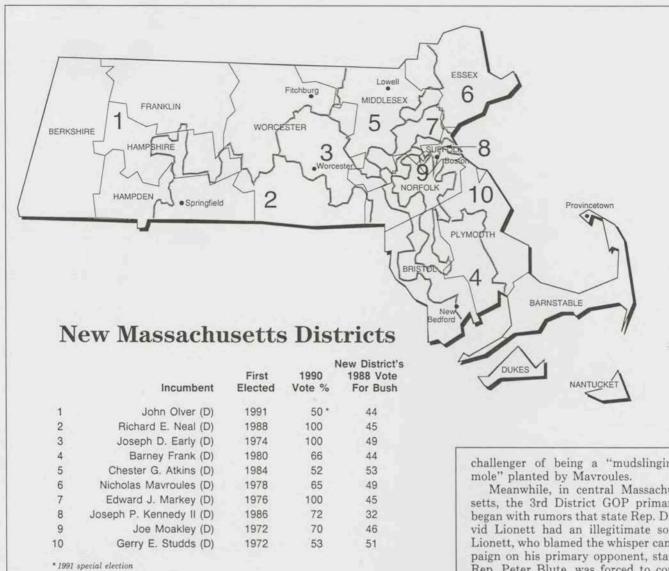
Mavroules, in particular, is hardpressed to finance both a primary campaign and a general campaign with a political treasury depleted by his legal defense.

Early, who has run all but unopposed since 1986, often rose at 4:30 a.m. this summer to greet Worcesterarea hospital and factory workers on their shift changes.

Even the supposedly unassailable Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy II has a Democratic challenger this month in the 8th. His rival, Boston City Councilor Charles Calvin Yancey, is a longshot at best. But his candidacy represents the new political muscle of blacks, who are now concentrated enough to make the 8th the first minority-influence district in the state's history.

Whatever happens in their prima-





ries, renomination will no longer guarantee re-election for Massachusetts members.

The state's GOP, virtually locked out of congressional politics for the past decade, sees the door of the Capitol finally cracking open.

"We're focusing on breaking the Democrats' monopoly," said GOP state party Chairman Leon Lombardi. He names Atkins, Early and Mavroules as the most vulnerable Democrats in primaries.

Rep. John W. Olver can be added to that list for the general election. The liberal freshman is matched against Patrick Larkin, a moderate Republican who was a top aide to the late Silvio O. Conte, the immensely popular Republican who represented the 1st for 32 years (1959-91).

2648 — SEPTEMBER 5, 1992 CO

#### **Opportunity Breeds Division**

But Democratic Chairman Steve Grossman said the Republicans might waste their historic opportunity by imitating the fractious Democrats.

"What I find astonishing is the divisiveness and mean-spiritedness and lack of collegiality" among the GOP aspirants, he said.

In Mavroules' district (the 6th), Republicans Peter Torkildsen and Alexander "Sandy" Tennant have fought bitterly over issues such as abortion, the environment and health care. The campaign has degenerated several times into name-calling, with Tennant whispering about Torkildsen's unmarried status.

Tennant has had firepower left over to direct at one of Mavroules' intraparty challengers, accusing the challenger of being a "mudslinging

Meanwhile, in central Massachusetts, the 3rd District GOP primary began with rumors that state Rep. David Lionett had an illegitimate son. Lionett, who blamed the whisper campaign on his primary opponent, state Rep. Peter Blute, was forced to confirm the reports in an emotional news conference.

All this unpleasantness could taint some of the GOP candidates, who are little known in comparison with the incumbents.

Ironically, the one man in the state who could boost the GOP's congressional hopes most has done little so far. Weld, the fair-haired governor who persuaded an unprecedented number of Massachusetts residents to vote Republican two years ago, has not campaigned in the congressional districts or raised money for House candidates.

The risks of involvement for Weld have been evident in the one district where he did endorse a primary candidate - the 10th. Here, Weld's support for Vietnam veteran and successful businessman Dan Daly has produced resentment among those who favor a rival, Michael Crossen.



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"Selectivity breeds contempt in this case," said Jerry Berger, a veteran Massachusetts political reporter and professor at Northeastern University in Boston. If Crossen pulls an upset, it will be in part thanks to Weld.

Massachusetts is the rare state where voter anger is actually subsiding in 1992. "We spent a lot of our anger in 1990," Berger said. "Overall, it's a lot calmer than it was a couple years ago."

The energy levels remain high in several districts, however.



Central-Southeast Worcester; Suburbs; Coastal towns

In 1990, 28 years after entering politics, Early held his first Washington news conference. The topic: the foreign takeover of a Worcester-based company.

The low-key congressman then promised he would not summon the media for another 28 years.



How he must wish that he could have kept that promise.

Instead, Early's second news conference came in the spring of 1992. The topic: 140 overdrafts at the House bank and inclusion on the list of top abusers (because he had been overdrawn for 15 months).

Early's response to the listing was described by one Democratic aide as a throw-the-bowl-of-spaghetti-at-the-wall strategy. Early and his accountant buried reporters in an avalanche of checks, statements and receipts. They talked endlessly about Internal Revenue Service definitions.

Then Early, not known for public appearances, took to the House floor claiming that the House's own investigators — his colleagues — had refused to listen to his side of the story.

"They ran like rats," he yelled as the cameras captured the scene for stunned viewers back home.

The beleaguered 18-year veteran's outbursts have caused much consternation at home and helped put his seat in jeopardy. Even Early acknowledges that his behavior has taken a political toll. "My expression has caused me a little more trouble," he said in a recent interview. But that's about all Early is willing to concede. The beefy former athlete (he played college basketball) has spent most of his adult life representing Worcester in the legislature or in Congress, and he has launched a strident defense of public service and his own tenure in office.

He rattles off the grants and federal projects that have come to Worcester thanks in large part to his seat on the Appropriations Committee. Among these are the University of

# **The New 3rd District**

The snakelike 3rd was quickly nicknamed the Ivy League district because it stretches from the town of Princeton in central Massachusetts to the town of Dartmouth on the southeastern coast. (The schools by those names are in New Jersey and New Hampshire, respectively.)

The nickname was ironic, as most of the population is based in and around the working-class city of Worcester, which has 170,000 residents.

About 250,000 voters in the new 3rd were not part of the previous 3rd (which was also Worcester based). Most of the new voters are in the southern coastal communities. The new 3rd picked up half the city of Fall River, a multilingual fishing community previously in the 4th District.

Republican-leaning towns in the central environs of the state have been added to the 3rd. They include: Princeton, Sterling, Holden, Paxton and Rutland.

Republican Gov. William F. Weld received only 48 percent in the 34 communities that make up the new 3rd. President Bush collected 49 percent here in 1988. "Unenrolled voters" are more numerous than Republicans or Democrats, with 46 percent of the registered voters choosing not to declare a party affiliation.

> Massachusetts Medical School, the Tufts Veterinary School and a biotechnology park.

Early's race is now a referendum on the incumbent. If he should lose it, however, it probably will not be to an outsider or a novice.

The most promising fresh faces in this race — Democrat Martin F. Healey and Republican Michelle Flaherty — are both struggling with little money and low name recognition.

Early's greatest threat appears to come from within his own party. D'Amico, the former state senator, has already raised \$120,000 and expects to spend about \$200,000 by primary day. He grabbed headlines with the coathanger abortion ad that describes Early as "dangerous" for women.

"Joe Early is on the wrong side of history on that issue," D'Amico said. He is also depicting Early as a politician from days gone by, unfit to serve in modern times.

"We need something more than the occasional slab of pork hurled from Washington to the 3rd District," D'Amico said.

"You people say it's political pork; I say it's political location," Early retorted.

D'Amico has released an economic revitalization plan titled "From Cold War to Economic War" that focuses on shifting military dollars to new and

emerging industries.

D'Amico has run twice for lieutenant governor. He was forced to withdraw from the 1990 race amid reports that he owed \$1,000 in parking fines while serving as director of the Commonwealth Literacy Corps.

On the GOP side of the 3rd, the main dividing line concerns abortion. In most other respects, Blute and Lionett are similar.

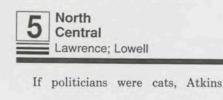
Both men are state representatives who list their legislative accomplishments as reasons to send them to Washington. The two support term limits, a presidential line-item veto and gradual cuts in defense spending.

Like Weld, Lionett believes fiscal conservatism and social liberalism (he is a single parent who supports abortion rights) are a winning combination. After or-

ganizing central Massachusetts for Weld in 1990, Lionett mapped a similar strategy for himself — built around his home of Worcester. An insurance agent, Lionett has been hampered by criticism that he accepts too many donations from people in the industry.

Blute, of Shrewsbury, has been a loyal servant of the GOP and holds the most right-leaning positions of any in the race. He is known on Beacon Hill for his determined, largely unsuccessful attempts to repeal a variety of taxes.

The 36-year-old lawmaker is at a financial disadvantage, having raised about half of Lionett's \$300,000.



#### POLITICS

might be on his seventh life by now. He had a rough spring, admitting to 127 House bank overdrafts and losing his base in redistricting. But some say he is now on the upswing, or at least swinging back.

Atkins has apologized for his mistakes and begun pitching a revamped Chester Atkins — one who no longer talks much about Cambodian refugees but has plenty to say about the economy and federal deficit.

"His situation looked terrible after the bank scandal broke," said University of Massachusetts political scientist Paul Watanabe. But Atkins' willingness to confront the controversy quickly and

publicly — using blown-up canceled checks as props — has enabled him to move on. "Chester's in much better shape than he was two months ago."

The challenge for Atkins now is convincing voters that he is more like the young reformer who entered politics in the 1970s than the loyalist who ran the party machine in the 1980s.

"He's gone from reformer to insider, and now he wants to go back and look like an outsider-reformer," said the GOP's Lombardi. "I don't think people are buying it."

The centerpiece of Atkins' new pitch is a plan to erase the federal

deficit in five years. The proposal relies heavily on massive defense cutbacks, fee increases and tax-break repeals. He said eliminating the deficit is the first step toward restoring the nation's economy.

But skeptics wonder why Atkins has taken so long to concern himself with a problem that has plagued the federal government for years. And since his election in 1984, Atkins consistently has scored poorly with the national Chamber of Commerce.

He must also strike a balance between the outsider who supported placing independent Ross Perot on the presidential ballot and the four-term

## The New 5th District

Although located on the northeastern edges of the new 5th, the gritty cities of Lawrence and Lowell dominate this otherwise suburban district.

Judging from results of recent statewide elections, the new 5th is friendly territory for the GOP. Republican Gov. William F. Weld collected more than 55 percent of the vote in the communities stretching from Lancaster to Methuen to Ashland. The totals for Presidents Ronald Reagan and Bush also exceeded 50 percent in the reconfigured 5th.

Communities with the most registered Republicans include Lowell, Andover, Chelmsford and Methuen.

Interstate 495 creates a loop around much of the 5th, and many of the district's residents travel the highway each day to work in high-tech firms near the New Hampshire border.

The district picked up nine new communities and parts of two others in the Framingham area. That large suburb was eliminated from the 5th.

congressman who protects the region's interests on Capitol Hill.

In a recent interview, Atkins segued from attacking the evils of congressional gridlock to defending guaranteed federal projects for Wang Laboratories (which is in bankruptcy proceedings).

He mentions Wang to "show what an experienced member of the Appropriations Committee is able to do to try to protect jobs in the district."

Republicans were already targeting Atkins this year after a fringe candidate took 48 percent of the vote against him in 1990.

## The New 6th District

Redistricting had little impact on the 6th District. The North Shore district that stretches from just a few miles north of Boston to New Hampshire is home to expensive beach homes, depressed mill towns, factory cities and bedroom communities.

Lynn, with its 81,000 people, is by far the largest community in the 6th. The city is home to a large General Electric Co. plant, which recently secured a \$784 million federal contract to build engines for F-18 fighter planes.

Although Democratic registration remains strong in the 6th (34 percent), voters have tended to stick with conservative candidates. Weld won the communities in the new 6th handily in 1990.

The 6th picked up just three new communities (and part of a fourth) in redistricting. But one was Bedford, home to Hanscom Air Force Base.

Tourists and fishermen share the district's coastal communities of Gloucester, Rockport and Marblehead. But before the GOP can take a shot at him, Atkins must ward off a serious primary challenge from former county prosecutor Martin T. Meehan, whose emphasis on his law enforcement background presents a not-too-subtle contrast to Atkins' overdrafts.

Meehan also stumps on promises to vote for term limits and sweeping campaign-finance reforms.

In a series of heated debates, Meehan has charged that Atkins' most recent proposals are political opportunism.

"It's becoming clearer and clearer he will say or do anything to get elected," said Meehan after Atkins called his 1989

pay-raise vote a mistake.

Meehan can expect strong support in his home city of Lowell and neighboring Lawrence.

Atkins, coincidentally, made no secret of his desire to relinquish the two working-class cities in recent redistricting. (The Lawrence Eagle Tribune has consequently lambasted him.)

When the new lines were drawn, not only did Atkins still have the communities he had offended, but he lost his base in suburban Framingham.

But even if Meehan fares well in the two large cities, Atkins could put

together a winning margin in the middle-class suburbs. Atkins already has gotten a taste of what is to come if he wins renomination Sept. 15.

Both Republican challengers began attacking the incumbent early in the race, although Lowell insurance executive Conway's attacks have been more pointed and more creative.

Besides the rubber checks, Conway offered and paid — a \$50 reward to the first person to spot Atkins in the district.

The gimmicks have been attention-getting, but they may not plant Conway's unfamiliar name firmly enough in the minds of voters. Conway must

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overcome a particularly wellknown opponent in Paul Cronin.

Cronin served in Congress a generation ago, before losing the seat to Democrat Paul Tsongas in 1974. The unassuming Cronin says 17 years running his own fiberglass company have given him a better perspective on the needs of average working people.

Those years in business have also brought personal wealth to the man born in a Boston housing project. He's already invested \$100,000 of his own money in the campaign.

6 North Shore Lynn; Peabody

Long before his indictment Aug. 27, Mavroules had launched his own aggressive defense, attacking the media, accusing the U.S. attorney's office of leaking information about the case and portraying

himself as the victim of a vicious political plot. And Mavroules may win vindication in the court of public opinion.

Seeking an eighth term in a district that has changed little since he was elected mayor of Peabody in the late 1960s, Mavroules is relying on a welloiled machine and intensely loyal voters to exonerate him in the polling booths this fall.

Although his vulnerabilities have been laid bare, the white-haired Mavroules retains obvious strengths. He has made a career of securing government money for the North Shore. While challengers struggle to introduce themselves, Mavroules can look to longtime friends who have been pulling the lever with his name on it for 30 years.

In the days following his indictment and not-guilty plea, many constituents began echoing the same themes Mavroules had carefully crafted: They do not trust the GOPappointed federal investigators and they ask why prosecutors are pursuing charges that go back almost two decades.

More important, the people of blue-collar communities — Lynn, Peabody, Danvers — say they will

# Mass. House Candidates

District	Democrat	Republican		
1	John W. Olver *	Patrick Larkin		
2	Richard E. Neal * Charles Platten Kateri Walsh	Anthony W. Ravosa Jr.		
3	Joseph D. Early * Gerard D'Amico Martin F. Healey Brian A. O'Connell John Walsh	Peter Blute Michelle Flaherty David Lionett		
4	Barney Frank *	Edward J. McCormick		
5	Chester G. Atkins * Martin T. Meehan	Paul W. Cronin Michael G. Conway		
6	Nicholas Mavroules * Eric Elbot Barbara Hildt	Peter Torkildsen Alexander T. Tennant		
7	Edward J. Markey *	Stephen A. Sohn Frank Vallarelli		
8	Joseph P. Kennedy II * Charles Calvin Yancey	No Republican candidate		
9	Joe Moakley *	Martin D. Conboy Patrick J. Walsh		
10	Gerry E. Studds * Paul Harold William G. Zissulis	Daniel W. Daly Robert E. King Michael K. Crossen		
Incumbeni	60			

never forget the jobs he helped create by securing defense contracts as chairman of an Armed Services subcommittee.

Many workers at the General Electric Co. plant in Lynn believe they have Mavroules to thank for their jobs.

Senior citizens in Mavroules' hometown of Peabody reportedly told one challenger they would vote for Mavroules "even if he's indicted and sent to jail."

But there have been doubts and defections. Tsongas, a fellow Greek-American and former senator and presidential candidate, chose not to endorse Mavroules — citing the incumbent's questionable legal status.

Newer, younger residents in the more affluent coastal suburbs do not evince the same loyalty toward Mavroules. And some party leaders acknowledge privately that they dread a fall campaign with a badly tarnished Mavroules as their nominee.

"He'd be a terrible candidate," one said.

But if Mavroules' legal troubles clearly present opportunities for his four opponents, the challengers have had trouble exploiting them. Most have decided not to dwell on the charges, letting news reports do that job.

In a recent forum for the three Democrats, neither Hildt, the state legislator, nor Harvard University administrator Eric Elbot made a single direct comment on Mavroules' indictment. In her closing, liberal activist Hildt opted instead for code words such as "trust" to remind voters of Mavroules' predicament.

Backed by the national women's group, EMILY's List, Hildt has a robust campaign account of about \$245,000.

But Hildt's résumé is somewhat slim, and her liberal credentials may be a handicap in the relatively conservative district.

She has based her campaign almost entirely on her support of abortion rights in contrast to Mavroules' opposition. Otherwise, Hildt is perhaps best known for her longtime opposition to the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant in nearby New Hamp-

shire.

Elbot has garnered little attention except when Republican Tennant suggested the college administrator was a "mudslinging mole" who entered the race to siphon votes from Hildt and thus indirectly boost Mavroules. Elbot has denied the assertion.

Tennant has been responsible for much of the hot talk in the primary. Northeastern's Berger characterized Tennant as a party insider known for his "slash and burn" techniques.

Tennant has accused Torkildsen of flip-flopping on abortion. Torkildsen says he abandoned his anti-abortion stance after reading about a 14-yearold rape victim who was not being permitted to leave Ireland to get an abortion.

But Tennant's record on abortion is also mixed. Although he has long spoken in favor of abortion rights, he opposed federal funding of abortions during his unsuccessful legislative campaign in 1978.

The two Republicans have bickered repeatedly over who truly has the backing of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack F. Kemp. (Tennant says he has a handwritten endorsement from the popular conservative, while Torkildsen boasted that



Kemp had fond words for him via a satellite hookup.)

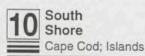
And Tennant, former executive director of the state GOP, has raised questions more than once about his opponent's status as a single man.

Torkildsen has largely ignored the personal insinuations but has repeatedly raised questions about Tennant's ties to a group that raised money for the GOP by arranging private soirees with high-ranking Weld aides.

The charges and countercharges were flying so fast that state party Chairman Lombardi stepped in, urging a truce.

"Tempers were getting a little frayed," he said. "We've asked the candi-

dates to recognize the fact that these campaigns will have to pull together once the primary is over."



This race, more than any other in Massachusetts, centers on issues close to home. Along the Bay State's southern coast, commuter boat service, restoration of a regional railroad line, and water and sewer rates dominate the campaign conversation.

Even Studds, poised to become chairman of the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, portrays that national post in local terms.

"We are able to offer the people of Weymouth and Quincy some clout where it matters, with respect to the shipyard," he said in an article for the Boston Globe.

(Virtually every candidate in the race is claiming that he has the best ideas for reviving the Fore River Shipyard in Quincy.)

Challengers from both parties say Studds may have been fine for the previous 10th but offers little to the new 10th. The line in one of Harold's radio ads is: "Studds' focus is out of focus."

Until this year's redistricting, Studds probably thought his toughest re-election contest was behind him.

After being censured in 1983 for sexual misconduct with a House page, Studds managed to persuade voters to

# The New 10th District

Nowhere is GOP opportunity statistically greater this year than in the 10th.

Republicans Ronald Reagan and Gov. William F. Weld did better here than their statewide average percentage. The district's 18 percent GOP registration is the highest in the state.

The largest entity in the 10th is Cape Cod. Shaped like a bent arm, the Cape, with its 15 beach communities, is a popular vacation spot that empties out come fall. Tourists also flock to the islands, such as Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. The Cape, Islands and South Shore suburbs such as Hingham, Cohasset and Duxbury offer a wealth of GOP votes.

New to the 10th this year is the city of Quincy. The ethnic melting pot just south of Boston is also home to the Fore River Shipyard. Also merged into the new district was about half of blue-collar Brockton, a onetime shoemaking center that has long supported Republican presidential candidates.

> regard his sexual preference as a private matter that did not diminish his effectiveness. He won the following year with 56 percent.

That proved Studds was not to be underestimated. One who seemed to agree was Norfolk District Attorney William Delahunt, who withdrew from this year's race when redistricting put him in the 10th with Studds.

But this year, for the first time, Studds will not be able to collect up to 17,000 votes in his New Bedford stronghold. About 40 percent of the new 3rd is new ground, and at its core is Quincy, the blue-collar community Harold has represented since 1979.

Harold is a gentlemanly lawyer who has never been part of the backslapping on Beacon Hill. He hopes his home city and surrounding communities can deliver more Democratic votes than Cape Cod, where Studds is stronger. Quincy and the Cape have almost an equal number of registered Democrats.

Although many contend that Harold's limited support for abortion (first trimester only) is a handicap in Massachusetts, the heavily Catholic 10th may disagree.

Quincy Mayor James Sheets endorsed Harold because "he's local." (Harold would be the first Quincybased politician elected to Congress in this century.)

But the mayor also expressed little dissatisfaction with Studds. "From a general point of view he is considered effective; he's just not my incumbent," Sheets said. Studds is trying to put the best face on redistricting. He describes the addition of Weymouth and Rockland as a homecoming because he represented those towns before the 1982 redistricting. He is also tapping his New Bedford supporters one more time by featuring their testimony in radio spots.

For Republicans, the 10th is a potential source of frustration. By eliminating New Bedford and adding much of the South Shore, Weld created the state's most Republican district. Moreover, he created a district that revolves around Hingham, the hometown of Daly, Weld's friend and former secretary of economic

development.

But Daly, a Clark Kent look-alike, has been slow off the mark. As a result, the state GOP no longer includes the 10th in its list of strong prospects.

The wealthy businessman who seems out of place on the local fishing docks bruised some Republican egos when he picked up the Weld endorsement.

As a result, Cape Cod lawyer Crossen could deliver a come-from-behind surprise in the primary. He touts himself as the only non-politician in the race and makes much of Daly's flipflop on abortion.

(Daly campaigned for the U.S. Senate in 1990 on an anti-abortion plank but has since said he believes government has no role in private decisions.)

Daly, well-funded after lending his campaign \$35,000 of its \$140,000 treasury, focuses mainly on Studds.

Complaining that the state of the fishing and shipbuilding industries is a "tragedy," Daly is promising more jobs in both areas. He has also proposed federal subsidies for fishermen hurt by any environmentally inspired moratoriums.

Whichever Republican wins Sept. 15 will have an additional hurdle to clear in November. Jon Bryan, who lost to Studds in 1988 and 1990 as a Republican, has chosen to run this year as an independent.

Long considered Studds' nemesis, Bryan, by splitting the opposition, may now be the incumbent's secret weapon.

## INDICTMENTS

# Mavroules To Stand Trial On Multiple Charges

Massachusetts lawmaker declares innocence, calls indictment politically motivated

Locked in a competitive primary and general election, seventerm Rep. Nicholas Mavroules, D-Mass., is expected to stand trial early in 1993 on criminal charges including extortion, racketeering, tax evasion and abuse of office.

The 17-count indictment, returned by a federal grand jury Aug. 27, accuses the Peabody representative of soliciting and accepting free

cars and cash for a variety of favors during 20 years in public office.

"Congressman Mavroules used the power of his office to enrich himself," said U.S. Attorney A. John Pappalardo.

In court, Mavroules answered each of the charges with a loud "not guilty." He has said the charges, which were returned less than three weeks before his primary election, were politically motivated. Whatever the courtroom outcome, Mavroules says, he already has used \$78,000 from his re-election fund to pay for legal costs.

"I simply and firmly declare my innocence and say I am confident that in the end I will be vindicated," Mavroules said in a news conference shortly before the indictment was announced. Mavroules faces two opponents in the Sept. 15 primary. (Story, p. 2647)

Mavroules has acknowledged accepting the free use of cars from a local dealership during his years in Congress. He has said his failure to report the cars on House financial disclosure forms or annual tax forms was an oversight.

But the 25-page indictment states that Mavroules solicited the use of the cars — valued at 75,000 — and for four years asked that they be put under a false name.

Federal prosecutors also allege that as mayor of Peabody, Mavroules extorted \$25,000 from the owners of a liquor store for his assistance in secur-



Mavroules

of soliciting and receiving a discount for the use of a beach house. The developer who

trafficker.

ing a license. The indict-

ment also says Mavrou-

les arranged for a job in

the store for his brother.

with extorting \$12,000 in 1985 in return for ar-

ranging a prison transfer

for a convicted drug

owned the Gloucester

He is further accused

He is also charged

beach house is alleged to have later received federal grants and other assistance from Mavroules and his congressional staff.

If convicted on all counts, Mavroules could face penalties in the millions of dollars and 20 years or more in jail. Pappalardo said he expects the 62-yearold congressman to spend at least two years in prison. His trial is expected to begin in January or February.

The initial reports of an investigation into Mavroules' affairs surfaced in the midst of a bitter divorce battle between his daughter and his son-inlaw, Andrew Gerakaris. The 62-yearold congressman has blamed Gerakaris for his legal problems, saying he had been spreading false rumors about him.

The Massachusetts news media have reported extensively on the grand jury proceedings, prompting Mavroules to complain that federal prosecutors were leaking information.

Democratic Party rules require Mavroules to relinquish his chairmanship of the Armed Services Subcommittee on Investigations until the case has been resolved. He has pledged to return as chairman if exonerated.

The last Massachusetts congressman indicted on criminal charges was Rep. Thomas J. Lane of Lawrence (1941-63), a Democrat charged with tax evasion in 1956. After serving several months in jail, Lane was released in time to win re-election.

## POLITICAL NOTES

#### Primary Outcomes Settled In Four House Districts

Three defeated House candidates — one in Alabama and two in Ohio — who contested the results of their primaries have dropped their challenges. And a recount of the GOP primary vote in Georgia's 6th District will not be contested.

• Alabama state Sen. Hank Sanders told the state Democratic Party that he would not pursue his challenge of the results in the June 30 runoff in the new majority-black 7th District. Sanders, a narrow loser to state Sen. Earl F. Hilliard, had lodged a complaint with the party, alleging that vote fraud tainted the outcome. (Background, Weekly Report, p. 2052)

• In southern Ohio's 6th District, GOP Rep. Clarence E. Miller ended his protracted effort to invalidate the June 2 primary won by GOP Rep. Bob McEwen. Miller alleged voting irregularities in some counties and had filed suit in Ohio's Supreme Court to overturn the results. But he said Aug. 25 that he would not continue his efforts, citing the mounting expenses of his court battle. (Background, Weekly Report, p. 2200)

• In the Cincinnati-based 1st District, state Sen. William F. Bowen elected not to seek a recount in the Aug. 4 special Democratic primary to replace Rep. Charles Luken. In the eight-candidate contest, Bowen lost to Cincinnati City Council member David Mann by 418 votes. (Background, Weekly Report, p. 2389)

• Former Georgia state Rep. Herman Clark, who lost to House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich in the 6th District GOP primary July 21, will not challenge the results of a recount of the race. Gingrich beat Clark by 982 votes. (Background, Weekly Report, p. 2298)

• In the Delaware gubernatorial contest, Floyd McDowell, a retired Newark educator, has switched parties. McDowell, who initially filed as a Democrat, will now be a candidate for A Delaware Party, a recently formed independent group. The primary is Sept. 12.

CQ SEPTEMBER 5, 1992 - 2653

HEADLINE: MASSACHUSETTS SENATE '94: KENNEDY POSITION IMPROVES

BOSTON HERALD/WCVB-TV poll, conducted by Political/Media Research from 9/21-22, surveyed 400 likely voters; margin of error +/- 5% (HERALD, 9/27). Tested: Sen. Ted Kennedy (D), Gov. Bill Weld (R). The 1/92 numbers refer to a KRC/BOSTON GLOBE poll; 7/91 from a HERALD/WCVB poll conducted by a different pollster. Weld said he intends to run for re-election in '94.

HYPOTHET	ICAL '	94 SEN/	ATE		BOSTON			
	ALL	MEN	WOM	EMASS	METRO	W. MA	1/92	7/91
Kennedy	47%	46%	48%	47%	53%	35%	44%	32%
Weld	35	36	34	31	30	48	40	55
Undec.	18	18	18					

#### HEADLINE: HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS: MA 05

Ex-Rep. Paul Cronin (R), who made an issue of primary foe Michael Conway's failure to release his tax returns, had a federal tax lien placed on his home in 1990 (B. HERALD, 9/30). Cronin faces ex-county prosecutor Martin Meehan (D), who defeated Rep. Chet Atkins (D).

### HEADLINE: HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS: MA 06

Federal prosecutors in the racketeering and bribery case against Rep. Nick Mavroules (D) are requesting US District Judge A. David Mazzone order Mavroules to provide the FBI with voice samples in an "effort" to prove he is speaking on a tape "discussing a \$5,000 payoff he allegedly accepted in exchange for a prisoner transfer" (B. GLOBE, 9/30). Prosecutors "also demanded to know if he plans to offer an alibi" at his trial (B. HERALD, 9/30). Mavroules faces ex-state Rep. Peter Torkildsen (R). The NRSC will "plug" \$60,000 into the campaigns of Torkildsen and Peter Blute (R) in the 3rd CD (B. HERALD, 10/1).

## HEADLINE: HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS: MA 03

State Rep. Peter Blute (R) said he would push for a "series" of debates despite the fact Rep. Joe Early (D-O3) has said he will participate in no more than three, and will not do so while the House is still in session. Early, "who is known for verbal imprecision, has an obvious motive in trying to limit the number of head-to-head clashes he will have with" the "articulate" Blute (Connolly, BOSTON HERALD, 9/24).

#### HEADLINE: HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS: MA 05

In a debate, ex-Rep. Paul Cronin (R) accused ex-county prosecutor Martin Meehan (D) of being a "lifelong bureaucrat" who supports a "Dukakis-like" health care plan. Meehan "said a vote for Cronin would be a vote in favor of (Bush), who has done nothing to improve the economy" (BOSTON HERALD, 9/23). Cronin raised \$15,000 dollars at \$100-per-person fundraiser that featured Sec/HUD Jack Kemp (BOSTON HERALD, 9/24).

#### HEADLINE: HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS: MA 06

BOSTON GLOBE reports federal prosecutors "considered" adding obstruction of justice to their 17-count indictment of Rep. Nick Mavroules (D). Mavroules was said to have contacted a potential witness (9/24). Prosecutors filed a memo in court saying Mavroules "instructed a potential witness in his extortion and racketeering case how to handle government inquiries" (GLOBE, 9/23). In 1/92 Mavroules and an aide met with John Karahalis, brother of the federal prisoner whose transfer Mavroules allegedly arranged for a \$12,000 bribe. Mavroules is said to have said to Karahalis, "I hope you don't bring up my name. That will be a problem for you and your son if you do" (BOSTON HERALD, 9/23). Sources say the charge could be added as a "superseding indictment" against Mavroules (GLOBE, 9/24).

## ADI: BOSTON IN MA

## **Political Landscape:**

ADI splits into three states, Massachusetts, 9.8 of 12 electoral votes, New Hampshire, 3.4 out of 4 votes and only 0.2 of 3 ev's in Vermont.

The Boston ADI performed rather poorly when ranked by 1988 Bush/Quayle Percentage. It ranks 168 out of 210 ADI's.

Past Republican Electoral Performance has been mixed in both Presidential Elections statewide races.:

1990:	Weld/Gov. Rappaport/Senate	52.8% of ADI Vote 42.3% of ADI Vote
1988:	BUSH/QUAYLE Malone/Senate	47.0% of ADI Vote 35.2% of ADI Vote
1984	REAGAN/BUSH	51.8% of ADI Vote

As of 1990 Census, Total Population of ADI was 4,686,139 people with Voting Age Population at 3,650,075.

Breakdown of Voting Age Population reveals a older ADI than the nation. Breakdown is as follows:

30-49 year olds	39%	of Voting	Age Population
50-64 yr. olds	17%	н	"
65 and above	17%	u	u
18-24 yr. olds	15%		H
25-29 yr. olds	12%	W	11

\*Average cost for a paid political commericial is \$486 per GRP. By doing a free 5 minute Q/A for a local TV station, the estimated savings from the hit would \$194,400 dollars. This is based upon a 400 GRP during the early news. Cost is based upon 4th Quarter Arbitron Cost Information.

### Media Recommendation:

The following stations would be ideal to penetrate three key counties in the Boston ADI. The stations are ranked by largest share during the 5:00 - 6:00 p.m. & 6:00 - 7:00 p.m. time slot.

- WCVB for interview purposes has the largest viewership during the evening news hour.
- WHDH is second, with strong penetration in the key counties.
- WBZ would be the third choice with marginal penetration in the selected counties.

The top Radio stations based on morning commute times:

- WZOU share 19.3
- WRKO share 17.4

## **Key Counties**

SUFFOLK COUNTY, MA	Media Share	
Represents 14% of ADI VAP.	Station:         (5-6:00 p.m.)         Station:         (6-7:00 p.m.)           WCVB         39 %         WCVB         32 %           WBZ         17 %         WBZ         19 %	
<ul><li>19% Black VAP.</li><li>23% of households with children</li><li>14% Retail, 12% Health Services</li><li>Commute time: 30 to 44 minutes</li></ul>	WHDH 14% WHDH 18%	

NORFOLK, MA	Media Share		
Represents 13% of ADI VAP.	Station: (5-6:00 p.m.)         Station: (6-7:00 p.m.)           WCVB         33 %         WCVB         17 %		
	WHDH 17% WBZ 28%		
2.7% Asian VAP	WBZ 16% WHDH 14%		
29% households W/children			
16% Retail, 11% Finance			
Commute time: 30 to 44 minutes			

MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MA	Media Share
Represents 30% of ADI VAP.	Station: (5-6:00 p.m.)         Station: (6-7:00 p.m.)           WCVB         36 %         WCVB         31 %           WBZ         19 %         WBZ         24 %
3.3% Asian VAP 29% households W/children	WHDH 14% WHDH 16%
14% Retail, 13% Manufacturing (durable) Commute time: 30 to 44 minutes	

## ADI #3: BOSTON, MA - KEY POINTS:

Significant demographics:

- African-American voting age population is 4%.
- Irish ancestry is 12%.
- High school education levels are higher than the National average.
- Median family income is higher than that of the Nation.
- Predominant industries include retail trade (16%) and durable manufacturing(13%).
- The average commute time is 10-19 minutes with 8% using public transportation.
- Median home value is above \$150,000.

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> DRAFT #3 9/11/92

CONTACTS: Jo-Anne Coe 202/408-5105 (O) 202/408-5117 (FAX) 703/845-1714 (H) Judy Kay Brown 913/295-2745 (O) 316/669-0434 (PSA Booth) 316/669-9311 (Holidome)

Mike Glassner - mobile 913/256-5149 Dave Spears - mobile 316/772-7066

SENATOR BOB DOLE SCHEDULE -- SEPTEMBER 11-14, 1992

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11

11:00 AM Lv. Capitol

DRIVER: Wilbert

OPTION: Join colleagues on bus which departs Senate steps at 11:00. (Senator Mitchell goes to Andrews by bus)

11:25 AM	Ar. Andrews AFB		
	DV Lounge		
	301/981-2100		

11:30 AM Lv. Andrews AFB

AIRCRAFT: US Army C-20 (G-3 equivalent)

TAIL NO.: 205

MANIFEST: Senator Mitchell Senator Dole Senator & Mrs. Kent Conrad Bob Bean, Deputy Sgt. at Arms

FLIGHT TIME: 2 hrs 50 minutes TIME CHANGE: -1 hour

CONTACT: Colonel Frank Norton 202/224-2687

#### PAGE TWO

#### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11 (CONTINUED) :

1:20 PM Ar. Fargo, North Dakota Hector International Airport FBO: Uncertain -- possibly National Guard hangar or Civilian terminal

Motorcade departs airport

DRIVE TIME: 10-15 minutes (4 miles, 4 traffic lights)

NOTE: Schering-Plough aircraft leaves Washington at 1:30 en route Fargo, with Vicki Stack on board.

1:45 PM Ar. Holiday Inn 701/282-2700

1:30 PM

2:00 FM ATTEND FUNERAL SERVICES FOR SENATOR BURDICK

SENATOR DOLE -- 3-4 MINUTES' REMARKS

(Reception to Follow -- also at Holiday Inn)

3:15 PM Lv. Holiday Inn

DRIVER: Steve Sydness staffer

STEVE SYDNESS WILL ATTEND BURDICK SERVICES. WILL LOOK FOR YOU THERE, AND WILL ACCOMPANY YOU TO THE AIRPORT.

DRIVE TIME: 10-15 minutes (4 miles)

- 3:30 PM Ar. Hector International Airport Valley Aviation 701/237-6882
- 3:40 PM Lv. Fargo

AIRCRAFT: Schering-Plough Challenger 601

TAIL NO.: N 34 CD

PILOT: John Stock CO-PILOT: Larry Webster SEATS: 6 MANIFEST: Senator Dole Vicki Stack

Rob Lively, Schering-Plough Richard Kinney, Schering-Plough

PAGE THREE

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11 (CONTINUED):

FLIGHT TIME: 1 hr 13 minutes

TIME CHANGE: 0

CONTACT: Rob Lively 202/463-7372 202/463-8809 (FAX)

4:53 PM

TENT 600

Ar. Johnson County Industrial Airport Olathe, Kansas Executive Beechcraft 913/782-9003

MET BY: Mike Glassner and Gale Grosch

RON: Overland Park Marriott 913/451-8000 Live interview and Cable program 700 EPTEMBER 12

## SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

9:15 AM- 10:00 AM	Attend DOLE FOR SENATE REGIONAL MEETING Overland Park Marriott
*	SPEAK AND PHOTO OP
10:00 AM	Lv. Overland Park Marriott
	DRIVER: Gale Grosch
	DRIVE TIME: 15-20 minutes
10:20 AM	Ar. Olathe Parade Route
10:30 AM- 11:30 AM	PARADE - JOHNSON COUNTY OLD SETTLER'S PARADE
	CROWD SIZE: 15,000
	CONTACT: Betty Hoagland 913/782-0613
11:30 AM	Lv. Parade Route
11:45 AM	Ar. Johnson County Industrial Airport Executive Beechcraft

913/782-9003

PAGE FOUR

#### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 12 (CONTINUED);

11:45 AM

Lv. Johnson County Industrial Airport

This document is from the collections at the Dole Archives, University of Kansas http://dolearchives.ku.edu

AIRCRAFT: Schering-Plough Challenger 601

TAIL NO.: N 34 CD

PILOT: John Stock CO-PILOT: Larry Webster

FLIGHT TIME: 30 minutes

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Vicki Stack Rod Lively Richard Kinney

NOTE: Mike Glassner will have driven ahead from Overland Park.

12:15 PM Ar. Topeka, Kansas Philip Billard Municipal Airport T.J. Terminals 913/234-2602

MET BY: Susie Hoffman

- 12:30 PM Ar. Ramada Inn
- 12:30 PM Meet Ralph Williams (Just say "Hello")
- 12:40 PM- DOLE FOR SENATE REGIONAL MEETING 1:40 PM Ramada Inn Downtown 913/234-5400

REMARKS AND PHOTO OP

- 1:45 PM Lv. Ramada Inn
- 1:55 PM Ar. Philip Billard Airport T.J. Terminals 913/234-2602
- 2:00 PM Lv. Topaka

AIRCRAFT: Schering-Plough Challenger

FLIGHT TIME: 26 minutes

PAGE FIVE

## SATURDAY, SEPTEMEER 12 (CONTINUED) :

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Vicki Stack Rob Lively Richard Kinney

2:26 PM Ar. Hutchinson, Kansas Wells Aircraft 316/663-1546

MET BY: Dave Spears

MET BY: Dave Spears

- 3:00 PM Ar. Kansas State Fair Grounds
- 3:00 PM- PRESS ANNOUNCEMENT: WHEAT GLUTEN 3:15 PM
- 3:15 PM ATTEND KANSAS STATE FAIR

The Cancer Screening Booth will be operating all day Saturday and Sunday, and from 6:00 PM to 9:00 PM on weekdays.

Dole for Senate materials will be in the Republican booth.

NOTE: Kansas Cellular has a booth in the Industrial Arts Building (same location as the PSA Booth). They would like to do a photo of the Senator either Saturday or Sunday for use in their magazine. Connie Keating is the contact (316/669-7819); she will be there from noon to 9:00 PM daily.

2:00-5:00 PM: KLA and the Grain and Feed Dealers will be hosting a legislative reception at the KWCH TV building, 1800 Plum Street

NOTE: Schering-Plough aircraft must depart Hutchinson for Washington, D.C., no later than 5:30 PM with Vicki Stack and Schering-Plough executives.

Lv. Hutchinson

???

AIRCRAFT:	Cessna Chancellor 414
TAIL NO.:	N 12436
SEATS:	7

PAGE SIX

#### SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13 (CONTINUED):

PILOT: CO-PILOT:	Mitchell Mosiman Sandra Alexander or Randy Awker
FLIGHT TIME:	32 minutes
MANIFEST:	Senator Dole Dave Spears
CONTACT:	Yingling Aircraft (Peggy) 316/943-3246

???

Ar. Russell, Kansas Super Aviation 913/483-6173

MET BY: City van will be left for your use

RON: Russell 913/483-4274

#### SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13

- 7:30 AM ?? Lv. residence
- 7:40 AM Ar. Elks Lodge 913/483-3071

Doors open at 7:00 AM for coffee and rolls. Doors close at 8:10 AM.

CONTACT: Russ Townsley 913/483-4114 James Malone 913/483-2735

- 8:30 AM- Taping of MEET THE PRESS 9:00 AM
- 9:10 AM Lv. Elks Lodge
- 9:25 AM Ar. Russell Airport Super Aviation 913/483-6173
- 9:30 AM Lv. Russell

AIRCRAFT: Cessna 414 Chancellor

TAIL NO.: N 12436

#### PAGE SEVEN

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13 (CONTINUED) :

SEATS: 7

PILOT: Mitchell Mosiman CO-PILOT: Dennis Richmeier

FLIGHT TIME: 17 minutes

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Dave Spears

9:47 AM

Ar. Hays Airport Rich's Air Service 913/625-6618 Airport Manager: 913/625-6619

MET BY: Jerry Moran 913/625-8136 (H) 913/628-8226 (O)

10:00 AM-11:00 AM ATTEND FORT HAYS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY PIONEER DAYS - CAVALRY DEMONSTRATION

11:00 AM Lv. Pioneer Days for airport

DRIVER: Jerry Moran

11:10 AM

Lv. Hays en route Russell

AIRCRAFT: Cessna 414 Chancellor

TAIL NO.: N 12436

SEATS: 7

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Dave Spears

PILOT: Mitchell Mosiman CO-PILOT: Dennis Richmeier

FLIGHT TIME: 17 minutes

11:27 AM

Ar. Russell Airport Super Aviation 913/483-6173

LUNCH

#### PAGE EIGHT

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SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13 (CONTINUED) :

1:30 PM Lv. Russell for Hutchinson

AIRCRAFT: Cessna 414 Chancellor TAIL NO.: N 12436

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Dave Spears

PILOT: Mitchell Mosiman CO-PILOT: Dennis Richmeier

FLIGHT TIME: 32 minutes

2:02 PM Ar. Hutchinson Airport Wells Aircraft 316/663-1546 Airport Manager: 316/665-2610

MET BY: Judy Kay Brown

2:30 PM- ATTEND KANSAS STATE FAIR 4:30 PM ??

.........

4:50 PM Ar. Wells Aircraft 316/663-1546

5:00 PM Lv. Hutchinson

AIRCRAFT: ITT Gulfstream-4

TAIL NO.: N 153 RA

PILOT: Capt. Joseph Lepera CO-PILOT: Wally Ostjan

CONTACT: Joe Santangelo 212/258-1042

> Hangar: 215/264-7766 FAX: 215/264-1274 (David George)

FLIGHT TIME: 40 minutes

5:40 PM

Ar. Kansas City International Airport Executive Beechcraft 816/243-6440

PICK UP MIKE GLASSNER

PAGE NINE

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13 (CONTINUED):

6:00 PM

Lv. Kansas City

FLIGHT TIME: 1 hr 15 minutes

TIME CHANGE: +1 hour

8:15 PM

Ar. Cincinnati, Chio Lunken Field Stevens Aviation 513/871-8600

MET BY: Mike DeWine staff driver and car

RON: Queen City Club 513/621-2708 513/621-0802 (FAX)

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14

8:00 AM-9:00 AM (In progress from 7:45) Queen City Club - Ballroom 331 East 4th Street

> Host: Bob Morgan, Chairman Cincinnati Financial (insurance co.) CROWD SIZE: 40-60 @ \$1,000 per person

PRESS: Closed

CONTACT: Mary Sabin 419/874-0108 614/469-1992 (Columbus) 419/227-4246 (Lima)

9:30 AM

Lv. Cincinnati

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Mike Glassner

FLIGHT TIME: 45 minutes

10:15 AM

1 Barry

Ar. Cleveland, Ohio Hopkins International Airport IX Jet Center 216/362-1500

TENTATIVE ONLY -- THIS EVENT IS NOT CONFIRMED ATTEND MIKE DEWINE FUNDRAISING LUNCH

PAGE TEN

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14 (CONTINUED): 2:00 PM Lv. Cleveland MANIFEST: Senator Dole Mike Glassner FLIGHT TIME: 1 hr 5 minutes 3:05 PM Ar. New York La Guardia Airport Page Avjet 718/476-5200 MET BY: Mark Miller 212/453-4849 (Car phone) DRIVE TIME: 45 minutes 3:45 PM Ar. St. Regis Hotel 55th Street at Fifth Avanue 212/753-4500 Proceed to Suite 607 4:00 PM-INTERVIEW in suite -- Illyria 4:15 PM (Harry Bajraktari's Albanian newspaper) CONTACT/INTERVIEWER: Charles Caruso 212/220-2000 4:15 PM-PRIVATE TIME 5:15 PM 5:15 PM Proceed to Versailles Room - 2nd Floor 5:20 PM-ATTEND DOLE FOR SENATE FUNDRAISER 6:15 PM (Event runs 5:00 - 6:30 PM) CROWD SIZE: 30 ANTICIPATED PROCEEDS \$40,000 (As of 7:00 PM Thursday) PRESS: CLOSED

FORMAT: Podium and Mike Mix and Mingle reception

#### PAGE ELEVEN

## MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14 (CONTINUED):

HOSTS:

Bill Carey, Chairman, W.P. Carey & Co. Jim Conneen, Chairman, A.T. Hudson & Co. Richard L. Fisher, Partner, Fisher Bros. Joe Fogg, Advisory Dir., Morgan Stanley Tom Foley, President, NTC Group Eli S. Jacobs, President, E.S. Jacobs & Co. David Koch, Exec. V.P., Koch Industries Don Marron, Chairman, Paine Webber John Moran, Chairman, Dyson-Kissner-Moran Elliott Vernon, Pres., Health Care Imaging Svcs. Jim Xhema, President, Xhema Remodeling

6:15 PM Rand Araskog meets Senator Dole in Versailles Room for escort to Fontaine Bleu Room

6:15 PM

Ar. Fontaine Bleu Room

Met by: Juan Capello, Sr. V.P., Govt Affairs ITT

ATTEND/KEYNOTE SOCIETY OF MEMORIAL SLOAN-KETTERING CANCER CENTER ANNUAL APPEAL

Event runs: 6:00-7:00 PM

FORMAT: Theater style Podium and Mike

CROWD SIZE: 81 confirmed (maybe 100)

SEATING: First row reserved for: Rand Araskog Senator Dole Dr. William R. Fair (Chief, Urology Service) Melinda Blinken, Sloan-Kettering Hospital

PROGRAM:

2-3 minute intro of Sen. Dole - Rand Araskog REMARKS - SENATOR DOLE - 5 minutes Q&A - SENATOR DOLE - 5 minutes Remarks - Dr. William Fair - 5 minutes

Following program, break for cocktail reception in same room

CONTACT: Sally Phipps 212/258-1251

PAGE TWELVE

#### MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14 (CONTINUED):

7:00 PM Lv. St. Regis Hotel

7:10 PM Ar. Bruno's Restaurant 240 East 58th Street 212/688-4190

Proceed to Second Floor

Attend NATIONAL ALBANIAN-AMERICAN PAC RECEPTION

CONTACT: Jim Xhema 203/531-6070

CROWD SIZE: 100 @ \$250 PER PERSON

FORMAT: Podium and Mike

PROGRAM: Intro of Sen. Dole - Prof. Sami Ripishti

REMARKS - SENATOR DOLLE

8:00	PM	Lv.	Bruno	SE 1	Restaurant

DRIVE TIME: 45 minutes

8:45 PM Ar. La Guardia Airport Page Avjet 718/476-5200

8:50 PM Lv. New York

AIRCRAFT: ITT Gulfstream-4 TAIL NO: N 153 RA FLIGHT TIME: 45 minutes

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Mark Miller Mike Glassner

9:35 PM

7:10 PM-8:00 PM

> Ar. Washington National Airport Butler Aviation 703/549-8340

MET BY: Wilbert Jones

PROCEED TO PRIVATE

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# SENATOR BOB DOLE SCHEDULE -- MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 14

8:00 AM-9:00 AM Queen City Club - Ballroom 331 East 4th Street

> Host: Bob Morgan, Chairman Cincinnati Financial (insurance co.) CROWD SIZE: 40-60 @ \$1,000 per person

PRESS: Closed

CONTACT: Mary Sabin 419/874-0108 419/874-3368 (FAX) 614/469-1992 (Columbus)

???

#### TENTATIVE -

PRIVATE MEETING with Carl Lindner to encourage him to join the DeWine team

PRIVATE MEETING with Ed Artz, Chairman of Proctor-Gamble

11:00 AM

Lv. Cincinnati

AIRCRAFT: ITT Gulfstream-4

TAIL NO.: N 153 RA

PILOT: Capt. Joseph Lepera CO-PILOT: Wally Oetjen

CONTACT: Joe Santangelo 212/258-1042 (O) 212/489-5098 (FAX) 203/258-1048 (H)

> Hangar: 215/264-7766 (David George) 215/264-1274 (FAX)

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Mike Glassner Curt Steiner, DeWine campaign mgr. John Berry, Dayton - DeWine finance cmte.

FLIGHT TIME: 30 minutes (???)

11:30 AM Ar. Columbus, Ohio Port Columbus Int'l Aprt Lane Aviation 614/237-7290 SENT BY: BOB DOLE

#### PAGE TWO

ATTEND MIKE DEWINE FUNDRAISING LUNCHEON 12:00 PM 1 Nationwide Plaza Columbus 43215 614/249-5400 614/249-3147 (FAX) Hosts: Nationwide Insurance NOTE: Mike DeWine will be in Chicago ??? TENTATIVE - PRIVATE MEETING with Les Wexner Doug Price, Bush-Quayle Director for Ohio, will meet at fundraiser and escort to: 1:30 PM-PRESS CONFERENCE 2:00 PM (For Bush-Quayle re Clinton/draft-dodging) State Capitol Building - Rotunda CONTACT: Katherine Murray 202/336-7289 (0) 301/220-6293 (Beeper) 703/931-4968 (H) 2:00 PM Lv. State Capitol 2:30 PM Ar. Port Columbus International Airport Lane Aviation 614/237-7290 2:30 PM Lv. Columbus MANIFEST: Senator Dole Mike Glassner FLIGHT TIME: 1 hr 5 minutes 3:35 PM Ar. New York La Guardia Airport Page Avjet 718/476-5200 MET BY: Mark Miller 212/453-4849 (Car phone) DRIVE TIME: 45 minutes

PAGE THREE

4:20 PM Ar. St. Regis Hotel 55th Street at Fifth Avenue 212/753-4500

Proceed to Suite 607

4:30 PM-4:45 PM INTERVIEW in suite -- <u>Illyria</u> (Harry Bajraktari's Albanian newspaper)

> CONTACT/INTERVIEWER: Charles Caruso 212/220-2000

4:45 PM- PRIVATE TIME 5:15 PM

5:15 PM Proceed to Fontaine Bleu Room - 2nd Floor

5:20 PM-6:15 PM ATTEND DOLE FOR SENATE FUNDRAISER (Event runs 5:00 - 6:30 PM)

CROWD SIZE: 30

ANTICIPATED PROCEEDS \$40,000 (As of 7:00 PM Thursday)

PRESS: CLOSED

FORMAT: Podium and Mike Mix and Mingle reception

HOSTS:

Bill Carey, Chairman, W.P. Carey & Co. Jim Conneen, Chairman, A.T. Hudson & Co. Richard L. Fisher, Partner, Fisher Bros. Joe Fogg, Advisory Dir., Morgan Stanley Tom Foley, President, NTC Group Eli S. Jacobs, President, E.S. Jacobs & Co. David Koch, Exec. V.P., Koch Industries Don Marron, Chairman, Paine Webber John Moran, Chairman, Dyson-Kissner-Moran Elliott Vernon, Pres., Health Care Imaging Svcs. Jim Xhema, President, Xhema Remodeling

6:15 PM

Rand Araskog meets Senator in Fontaine Bleu Room for escort to Versailles Room

PAGE FOUR

6:15 PM

Ar. Versailles Room

Met by: Juan Capello, Sr. V.P., Govt Affairs, ITT

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FORMAT: Podium and Mike

## PAGE FIVE

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REMARKS - SENATOR DOLE

8:00 PM Lv. Bruno's Restaurant

DRIVE TIME: 45 minutes

8:45 PM Ar. La Guardia Airport Page Avjet 718/476-5200

8:50 PM Lv. New York

AIRCRAFT: ITT Gulfstream-4 TAIL NO: N 153 RA FLIGHT TIME: 45 minutes

MANIFEST: Senator Dole Mark Miller Mike Glassner

9:35 PM Ar. Washington National Airport Butler Aviation 703/549-8340

MET BY: Wilbert Jones

PROCEED TO PRIVATE

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# UNITED STATES SENATE

OFFICE OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADER WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7020

**OFFICIAL BUSINESS** 

Bol Dole U.S.S.

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